

WAR ON PROLIFERATION

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the column "An All-Out War on Proliferation" by Undersecretary of State John Bolton, which appeared in Tuesday's Financial Times of London, be printed in the RECORD. This piece clearly articulates the Bush administration's aggressive approach to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The success of U.S.-led nonproliferation and counterproliferation efforts over the last 4 years shows strong U.S. leadership on a global scale. It is also an illustration of just what we are able to accomplish through U.S.-led multilateral, concrete action, rather than through inefficient bureaucracies and toothless treaties.

I congratulate Undersecretary Bolton for his outstanding piece, and I strongly recommend it to my colleagues.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Financial Times, Sept. 7, 2004]

AN ALL-OUT WAR ON PROLIFERATION
(By John Bolton)

Some supporters of "multi-lateralism" prefer to talk about its glories in the abstract rather than take action in the here and now. The Bush administration's non-proliferation policies fall into the latter category. Rather than rely on cumbersome treaty-based bureaucracies, this administration has launched initiatives that involve co-operative action with other sovereign states to deny rogue nations and terrorists access to the materials and knowhow needed to develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Our policies show that robust use of the sovereign authorities we and our allies possess can produce real results.

The Bush administration is reinventing the non-proliferation regime it inherited, crafting policies to fill gaping holes, reinforcing earlier patchwork fixes, assembling allies, creating precedents and changing perceived realities and stilted legal thinking. The frontlines in our non-proliferation strategy must extend beyond the well-known rogue states to the trade routes and entities engaged in supplying proliferant countries. This can properly be described not as "non-proliferation", but as "counter-proliferation". To accomplish this, we are making more robust use of existing authorities, including sanctions, interdiction and credible export controls. Most importantly, we have taken significant steps to improve co-ordination between sovereign states to act against proliferators.

As we learned from the unravelling of the clandestine nuclear weapons network run by A.Q. Khan and from the Libyan WMD programme, proliferators employ increasingly sophisticated and aggressive measures to obtain WMD or missile-related materials. They rely heavily on front companies and illicit brokers in their quest for arms, equipment, sensitive technology and dual-use goods.

In his September 2003 speech to the United Nations General Assembly, George W. Bush proposed that the Security Council pass a resolution calling on member states to criminalise WMD proliferation, enact export controls and secure sensitive materials within their borders. The resulting Security Council Resolution 1540, unanimously adopted, achieved the president's goals. Rather than requiring years negotiating treaties and creating elaborate institutions, Resolu-

tion 1540 rests on the notion that sovereign states are responsible for writing and implementing laws closing the loopholes exploited by black market WMD networks.

Among the most prominent of this administration's counter-proliferation innovations is the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). We say that PSI is "an activity, not an organization," in this case an activity designed to halt trafficking in WMD, their delivery systems and related materials. In developing PSI, our main goal has been a simple one: to enable practical cooperation among states to help navigate this increasingly challenging arena. The initiative focuses on enhancing states' operational capabilities in the intelligence, military and law enforcement arenas. More than 60 countries gathered in Poland just over a month ago to mark PSI's one-year anniversary—and some notable successes. The interception, in cooperation with the UK, Germany and Italy, of the BBC China, a vessel loaded with nuclear-related components, helped convince Libya that the days of undisturbed accumulation of WMD were over, and helped unravel A.Q. Khan's network.

Another important administration initiative is the Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, launched by the Group of Eight at its June 2002 summit. Here again, this effort relies on the commitments of sovereign states acting separately and in concert to secure sensitive materials. Like PSI, the Global Partnership is an activity, not an organisation. The G8 Leaders and 13 additional partners have pledged to raise up to Dollars 20bn (Pounds 11.3bn) over 10 years for projects to prevent dangerous weapons and materials from falling into the wrong hands.

The US already has non-proliferation projects under way not only in Russia but in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Georgia and other former Soviet states, as do other Global Partnership countries. We recently began assistance in Iraq and Libya and are encouraging our partners to undertake their own projects in such states. At Sea Island this year, the G8 agreed to use the Global Partnership to coordinate activities in these areas.

This administration is working to make up for decades of stillborn plans, wishful thinking and irresponsible passivity. We're already late, but we are no longer bystanders wringing our hands and hoping that somehow we will find shelter from gathering threats. We are no longer lost in endless international negotiations whose point seems to be negotiation rather than decision, and no longer waiting beneath the empty protection of a reluctant international body while seeking grudging permission to take measures to protect ourselves.

Mr. Bush has begun laying the foundation for a comprehensive, root-and-branch approach to the mortal danger of the proliferation of instruments intended for our destruction. We are determined to use every resource at our disposal—using diplomacy regularly, economic pressure when it makes a difference, active law enforcement when appropriate and military force when we must.

We are just at the beginning, but it is an extraordinary beginning. Not only are we meeting this ultimate of threats on the field, we are advancing on it, battling not only aggressively, but successfully. And so we must, for the outcome of this battle may hold nothing less than the chance to survive.

BACK TO SCHOOL AND THE NO
CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, as the Senate returns from its August recess

this week, students, teachers, and school personnel across Wisconsin and around the country are settling in for a new school year.

Each new school year brings with it the promise of things to come. Students will embark on new educational paths, with new subjects and teachers and, in some instances, new classmates. Some students are entering school for the first time, while others are beginning their middle or high school careers. And some are embarking on their senior years in high school and are preparing to make the transition into the next phase of their lives. All of these students, and their parents, are facing new challenges and new opportunities. We owe it to them to provide the resources promised by the Federal Government to support our States and local school districts.

Throughout our Nation's history, the education of our children has been viewed as a largely local and State responsibility, and the Federal Government has wisely left decisions affecting our children's day-to-day classroom experiences up to the schools, districts, school boards, and State education agencies that bear the responsibility for—and most of the cost of—educating our children. Historically, when the Federal Government has stepped in, it has been to ensure that children receive an equal opportunity for a good education by protecting the rights of all children and by providing additional resources for schools and for such related activities as teacher training.

Impact Aid, which was enacted in 1950 and is one of the oldest Federal education programs, helps local school districts to defray the costs of educating "federally connected" students, such as those who live on Federal land, which is not included in the local property tax base that funds elementary and secondary education. The National Defense Education Act of 1958, which was enacted in response to the Soviet launch of the Sputnik satellite, provided funding to improve math, science, and foreign language instruction in our elementary and secondary schools.

The landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, of which the No Child Left Behind Act is the most recent reauthorization, provided funding to support the education of disadvantaged students. That same year, Congress enacted the Higher Education Act, which has helped to provide millions of Americans with the assistance they need to pursue post-secondary education.

Also in 1965, the Office of Economic Opportunity created "Project Head Start," the predecessor of the current Head Start program, which is administered by the Department of Health and Human Services. Since its inception, Head Start has improved opportunities for low-income preschool children and their families by providing a comprehensive approach to addressing the